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NOTES
ON THE LATIN TRANSLATION OF, AND
COMMENTARY ON THE
DIVINA COMMEDIA BY GIOVANNI
DA SERRAVALLE.

BY
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NOTES ON THE
LATIN TRANSLATION OF, AND COMMENTARY ON
THE DIVINA COMMEDIA BY GIOVANNI DA
SERRAVALLE.

The first and, so far as has yet been noticed, the only prose translation of the *Divina Commedia* into Latin, was made by Giovanni dei Bertoldi (1), generally known by the name of Serravalle, from the town, in the small republic of San Marino, in which he was born. The date of his birth is unknown — it was probably about 1350 — and the only details that we have of his earlier life are to the effect that he entered the Minorite Order as a young man, and was an attendant at the readings on Dante by Benvenuto da Imola, either at Bologna or at Ferrara (2). He was honored with the highest offices of his order; between the years 1393 and 1397 he was a very popular preacher at the Church of Sta. Croce — later the Laurenziana — in Florence, a position which he returned to fill in subsequent years (3). He had then travelled in the East and to England (4), probably under some papal commission, and in 1400 we find mention of him as a successful preacher, lecturer, and ambassador at Perugia (5). Made Bishop of Fermo before 1410, he was present as a member of the Italian *Natio*

1. In the index to the Catalogue of Additions to the MSS. of British Museum, 1882-1887, s. v. Dante, p. 554, s. v. Bertaldi, p. 439; the Woodhul MS. is indexed under the incomprehensible head of Berthaldi.

2. Benvenuti de Imola, Comentum. Florentiæ, 1887, vol. I. pp. xxxiii-xxxv; Fratrîs de Serravalle translatio et comentum totius libri Dantis Aldigherii . . . nunc primum edita. (By Marcellino da Civezza e Teofilo Domenichelli.) Prati. 1891, p. xvi.

3. F. Novati in *Bullettino della società Dantesca*. No. 7 (1891), pp. 11 ff.

4. *Translatio*, p. 258.

5. F. Novati in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, vol. XXIX. p. 565.

at the Council of Constance, 1414-1418, where, at first a faithful ally of Gregory XII., he finally took up the cause of the newly elected Pope, Martin V. Later on he was translated to the see of Fano, and died in 1445 at a very advanced age (6).

During the intervals of the long-delayed sessions of the Council of Constance, the subject of Dante was brought up in conversation in the group of prelates with which Serravalle associated, and at the pressing request of two members of the English deputation, Nicolas Bubwith (7),

6. *Translatio*, pp. xi-xxiii. For additions and corrections cf. H. Grauert in *Historisch-Politische Blätter für das Katholische Deutschland*, vol. CXX. pp. 176-185; F. X. Kraus, *Dante* (1899), pp. 12, 497; M. Delfico, *Memorie della Repubblica di San Marino* (Firenze, 1844), vol. III. app. p. xxiv; Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. XV. col. 950 b; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, vol. VII. p. 258. The notices of Serravalle in Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vol. II. cols. 786-787; vol. I. cols. 529, 726; vol. IV. col. 1014, are partly confusions, partly errors. I have not been able to verify references to Ughelli and to Labbe's *Concilia* made by Le Clerc, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. XXI. p. 110.

7. As there is no article on Bubwith in the *National Biography*, I here state the few sources I have consulted. Le Neve, *Fasti Angl. Eccl.*, ed. Hardy, vol. I. pp. 140, 394, 616, 622; vol. II. pp. 221, 294, 601, 637; vol. III. pp. 139, 183. W. Hunt, *Bath and Wells* (Diocesan Histories), pp. 87, 132, 139, 142. W. H. Jones, *Salisbury* (Dioc. Hist.), pp. 136-137. *Fasti Sarib. Eccl.*, 1879, Index, s. v. H. H. Milman, *Annals of St. Paul's Cathedral*, 1869, p. 88. W. Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's Cathedral*, pp. 219, 402. *Monasticon*, ed. 1819, vol. II. p. 279. T. Rymer, *Fœdera*, 1727, vol. VIII pp. 152, 686; vol. IX. pp. 167, 168, 170, 370, 410, 437, 466, 567. Ulrich von Richtental, *Chronik des Constanzer Concils*, ed. Buch, 1882, p. 169. A. Wood, *Hist. et Antiq. Oxon.*, 1672, vol. I. pp. 201-205. W. Phelps, *Hist. of Somersetshire*, 1839, vol. II. pp. 113, 145, 156. J. Britton, *Cathedral Antiquities*, vol. IV. pp. 42, 110. A. J. Jewers, *Wells Cathedral*, 1892, pp. 1, 9, 275, 296. *Wells Cathedral*, ed. H. E. Reynolds, 1881, pp. xxxi, xxxvii, lvii, lxx, lxxxi. *Proc. of the Somerset Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. I. 2, pp. 81, 176; XII. 2, pp. 34, 55; XIX. 2, pp. 42, 74; XXXIV. 2, pp. 47, 80, 87; XXXVIII. 2, p. 19. *Proc. of the Privy Council*, ed. H. Nicolas, vol. I. pp. 331, 332, 334, 335, 337, 340, 341, 343, 348, 349, 350, 358, 395; vol. II. pp. 7, 31, 32, 36, 38, 103, 114, 236, 286, 300; vol. III. p. 124. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. III. 486 a, 522 b, 545 b, 582 a, 583 a, 585 b, 586 b, 590 a, 609 a, 632 b, 623 a, 648 a, 649 a; vol. IV. 4 a, 16 a, 50 b, 116 b, 117 b, 123 b, 129 b, 150 b; vol. V. 425 a. *Translatio*, pp. xx-xxi.

Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, and of his own countryman, Amadeo, Bishop of Saluzzo, he made in Latin prose a line-for-line translation of the *Divina Commedia*, accompanying it with a commentary and introductory discourses upon the poet and his work. Further, in order to please one of his petitioners who was too impatient to wait for the completion of the translation, he wrote a summary — “Summa seu Epilogus, Summarium” are the words he uses — of every canto (8). The most remarkable thing about this composition is the short time in which it was written; for the translation was made between January and May, 1416, and the commentary, commenced on the first of February, 1416, had been carried as far as the end of the *Purgatorio* on October 22 of the same year, and was completed by January 1 or 16 of the following year (9). The translation has no pretensions to elegance: it is at best a closely literal “crib” (10). The commentary, for the most part (11) an

8. Translatio, pp. xvii–xix. None of the “ristretti” of the *Divina Commedia* noted by Batines, *Bibliografia Dantesca*, vol. I. pp. 213 ff., by G. Biagi, *Giunte*, etc., inedite, pp. 80 ff., and by L. Prati, *Miscellanea Dantesca*, pp. 8–11 n., seem to be exactly similar to Serravalle’s “Epilogi.”

9. Translatio, p. 3, “sexta decima die mensis Januarii,” p. 1215, “sexta die mensis januarii.” The first and longer date is probably the correct one. Cf. Translatio, pp. xxi, 814. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana* (1789), vol. V. p. 509, gives dates of work on both translation and commentary as Feb. 1, 1416–Feb. 16, 1417. The MS. Egeriano, through a mere scribal error, gives for dates of the translation Jan.–May, 1417. Cf. I. Vaisz in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, vol. II. p. 364.

10. He himself says: “Ipse liber per me transferreretur de ydiomate vulgari ytalico in illam talem prosam rudem et ineptam;” and again, “scilicet quod hoc opusculum facere accellerarem non curantes de rusticana latinitate, in corrupta translatione, quam si fieri necesse fuit propter temporis brevitatem.” (Translatio, p. 5.)

11. Cf. Transl. p. 570: “Benvenuto de Ymola, qui fuit magister meus in hoc libro quem et cujus opinionem secutus sum quasi semper.” Where he keeps closely to his original, it can be seen that the MS. of Benvenuto which he used certainly belonged to the same family as that of the Laurenziana, which is used as the basis of the text of Vernon’s edition. On the other hand, the text used by Barbieri (*Dell’ origine della poesia rimata*, 1790, pp. 49, 73–74, 97, 139, 146, 148, 149–150, 151, 156), if he quoted it as written, does not seem to be, as might be expected, the MS. Etenseano used

abbreviated version of that of Benvenuto da Imola, has no additional historical or critical apparatus to give the author a place among the valuable older commentators (12). In fact, that he is not one of the great majority to whom apply the words of Dante,

“Fama di loro il mondo esser non lassa” (13),

is due not to any general merit of this work of his, but to a specific fault. The good intentions of the author were of little avail, while misstatements in the work have given substance to a distressing literary heresy — Dante's visit to England. When treating of the life of Dante, in the general preamble, or preliminary discourse to the whole work, among other gross mistakes evidently due to ignorance, Serravalle intentionally makes the most absurd statements to satisfy the college pride (14) of his English colleagues, both of whom were greatly interested in (15), and one of whom, Hallam (16), had been Chancellor of the University of Oxford. After telling how the poet had met Beatrice, he continues, “Modo nota quod Dantes dilexit hanc puellam Beatricem hystorice et litteraliter; sed allegorice et anagogice dilexit Theologiam sacram in qua diu studiit tam in Oxoniis in Regno

as a variant in the Vernon edition, and of which parts were published by Muratori (*Antiquitates italicæ medii ævi*, 1738, vol. I. pp. 1028 ff. Cf. Barbieri, l. c., p. 187, Tiraboschi's note). On cases of statements disagreeing with those of Benvenuto, cf. below, Note 20; U. Foscolo, *Discorso sul testo*, etc., London, 1825, vol. I. pp. 123–124.

12. Cf. Grauert, l. c., pp. 178–179; Kraus, *Dante*, p. 518. The mere lack of time and the composition of the “Epilogi” are enough to discredit the assumption that the commentary and translation were the outcome of public readings upon the *Commedia*; cf. K. Witte, *Litbl. f. germ. und rom. Phil.*, 1881, col. 445; E. Sulger-Gebing, *Zeit. f. vergleich. Lit.*, N. F., vol. VIII. p. 223; Grauert, l. c., pp. 178–179.

13. *Inf.*, III. 49.

14. Grauert, l. c., p. 183, n. 1.

15. As the earliest Registers of Oxford, that are preserved, only go back to 1449, and as the names of neither Hallam nor Bubwith appear on the separate college lists of an earlier date, there is no documentary evidence of their graduation from the University; but on Bubwith's interest see H. C. M. Lyte, *Hist. of Oxford*, 1886, p. 316, note 3.

16. *Nat. Dict. of Biog.*, vol. XXIV. p. 99, R. L. Poole.

Anglie; quam Parisius (17) in regno Francie" (18). Further on, after stating that the poet had studied at Bologna and Padua, he goes on to say, "demum Oxoniis et Parisius ubi fecit multos actos mirabiles" (19). There is no other evidence whatsoever (20) to substantiate

17. "Parisiis" is given in the printed text quoted; but in the Woodhul MS. the regular mediæval form (which appears elsewhere in MS. Cappo-
niano, Transl., pp. 163, 549, 655, 941), "Parisius" is given. Academy, vol. XXIX. p. 133. On the source of the error, cf. A. Bonnet, *Le latin de Grégoire de Tours*, 1890, pp. 337-338; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *La déclinaison latine en Gaule à l'époque mérovingienne*, 1872, pp. 62-66, 70-72; Krusch in *Opera Gregorii Turonensis*, 1894, vol. I. p. 941.

18. Transl., p. 15; cf. Acad., vol. XXIX. p. 133; *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, vol. II. p. 361; E. Moore, *Early Biographers of Dante*, pp. 111-112; Cat. of Add. MSS. of the Brit. Mus., 1882-1887, pp. 357-358.

19. Transl., p. 21; cf. Acad., vol. XXIX. p. 133; *Early Biog.*, p. 112; *Revista Europea*, 1874, vol. III. p. 409.

20. Boccaccio's line in his metrical letter to Petrarch in praise of Dante,
"Pariseos dudum, serusque Britannos."

(On the correct reading "serusque," instead of "extremos" as in some texts, cf. G. Carducci, *Opere*, vol. VII. pp. 288, 292-293; but on the use of "serus" in the sense of "extremos" in Valer. Flac., Arg., 705, as adduced by Carducci, compare Boccaccio's use of it apparently in the sense of "tardus" in the *Lettere*, ed. Corazzini, pp. 243, 363). Foscolo (*Discorse sul testo*, etc., vol. I. pp. 124-125) was, I believe, the first to point out this line in connection with Serravalle's statement, and it was used also by Missirini, *Vita di Dante*, 1840, vol. I. pp. 123-124, and by Balbo, *Vita di Dante*, 1853, p. 473; cf. also Nation, vol. LVI. p. 311. (For a bibliography of the variant texts cf. A. Hortis, *Studj sull'opere latine del Boccaccio*, Trieste, 1879, p. 791.) Contrary as it is to the specific statements of its author in his *Comento* and *Vita*, it may be better to take it as a classical reminiscence of Horace's "ultimos Orbis Britannos," Od., I. 35 and 29-30, or of Catullus in *Carm.*, XI. 11-12 (on Boccaccio's acquaintance with Catullus cf. Hortis, l. c., p. 944; P. de Nolhac, *Petrarche et l'Humanisme*, 1893, pp. 131, 137 ff.), than on account of it to seek to impugn the authenticity of the poem; cf. Moore, *Early Biog.*, p. 179. On the British Isles as Ultima Thule may be compared a passage in Boccaccio's *Comento* (ed. Milanesi, vol. I. p. 192; Moore, *Early Biog.*, p. 179), where, speaking of the westward trend of the sway of empire, he ends with "già che il cielo ne minacci di portarle in Inghilterra," cf. the quotation from Benvenuto in this note. It

this biographical detail. Yet elsewhere in Serravalle's work does the cloven foot of sly flattery show itself with another uncalled for allusion to Oxford. In the preamble introductory to the *Purgatorio*, after stating why Dante and his guide had not needed to come to the Mount of Purgatory in a boat, he proceeds: "Et sicut Anglia, existens insula

would only work more confusion to suggest that "Britannos" is used in the same sense as in a letter of a correspondent of Abelard, where "remota Britannia" is used when Brittany is evidently referred to (P. Abælardi Opera, ed. V. Cousin, 1854, vol. I. p. 59). We should then have merely another comment on Villani's expression, "e più a Parigi e in più parti del mondo" (Chron., IX. 136), and a transference of the difficulty to Dante's travels in Western Continental Europe, that is, an unnecessary confusion of the insular and the continental "Britannia" question.

Yet by certain enthusiastic Englishmen this poetical statement of Boccaccio is used as an argument *a posteriori*, to support Serravalle's false statement: cf. E. H. Plumptre, *Contemporary Review*, vol. XL. pp. 843 ff.; *Translation of the Divina Commedia*, etc., vol. I. pp. xlii, 63, 118, and vol. II. pp. 113, 424, 427; Lyte, *History of Oxford* (reviewed in *Acad.*, vol. XXX. p. 419, by E. Moore and in the *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, col. 125, by F. X. Kraus), pp. 89-91; W. E. Gladstone, *Nineteenth Century*, vol. XXXI. pp. 1032 ff.; *Recollections of Sir Algernon West*, 1899, vol. II. p. 236; W. Flower, in *Athenæum*, 1898, pp. 693-694; Scartazzini, *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Beilage Num. 81, April, 1893; *Dantologia*, 1894, p. 151; F. X. Kraus, *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, 1894, col. 157; *Giornale Dantesco*, vol. II. pp. 256-258, 452, and vol. III. pp. 263, 370; *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 8, vol. II. p. 101 and vol. IX. pp. 184-185. It is curious that the passages in the *Commedia* which according to these writers denote Dante's acquaintance with English history and topography are more fully commented on by Serravalle than by Benvenuto. On *Inf.*, XII. 118, he has much more to say (*Transl.*, pp. 162-163) than Benvenuto (*Comentum*, vol. I. 414), introducing flattering remarks on the "pulcherissimo et ditissimo" kingdom of England. Dealing with *Inf.*, XXVIII. 135, although writing for Englishmen, he makes "Rex Joannes, vulgariter dicebatur rex Jovene," the son of Richard (*Transl.*, p. 350), adding one more to the list of mistaken commentators; cf. E. Moore, *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia*, p. 349. According to Moore's statement here, the Woodhul MS. does not contain a text of the commentary as complete as that of the Capponiana. For illustrations of this passage not yet noticed by Dante scholars, cf. P. Meyer, *Fragments d'une vie de St. Thomas de Canterbury*, 1885, I. 32; Ambroise, *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, v. 95,

sicuti est, est sic circumdata mari, quod ad illam non est possibilis accessus sine adiutorio navis nisi quis volaret, ita ad hanc terram, sic elevatam sursum ad istum montem, nemo venire potest nisi per mare fultus adiutorio navis. Sed nota quod si de alio emispirio poli anthartico veniret versus nostrum emispirium per foramen terre perforate, sic et taliter quod foramen inciperet illuc in alio emispirio, et veniret per centrum terre, et postea terminaret illud foramen in Oxoniis sive alio loco medio insule Anglie, vel etiam in circumferentiis insule, dummodo esset infra insulam, ille veniens de alio emispirio per illud foramen, non indigeret navi ad intrandum insulam Anglie, quia jam esset in ea" (21).

This translation of a vernacular composition into the universal tongue met with none of the success that was the fortune at an earlier period of Guido delle Colonne's rendering of the *Roman de Troie* of Benoit de Sainte-More, and, in the next century, of Locher's translation of Brandt's *Narvenschiff*. The earliest (22) notice of the existence of

ed. G., Paris; A. Thomas, Francesco Barberino, etc., p. 183. When treating of *Purg.* VII. 130 ff., Benvenuto, l. c., vol. III. p. 216, says, concerning "Seder la sola" (cf. *Inf.*, IV. 129; XII. 118): "quia Anglicus; Anglia enim angulus terræ et reposita in Oceano occidentali. Unde Virgilius; Et penitus tota divisa Britannos." To this Serravalle, l. c., p. 509, adds, "Ideo dat magnam laudem auctor domui regum Anglie, quia multi et multi successerunt boni et valentes." There is nothing noteworthy on *Par.*, XIX. 121-122; cf. Benvenuto, l. c., vol. V. p. 248; Serravalle, l. c., p. 105.

21. Transl., pp. 429-430. On flattery as the cause of the statements, cf. Grauert, l. c., p. 183, note.

22. There is a possibility that there is a reference to the work of Serravalle in a note of the librarian of Benedict's collection of books at the castle of Peñíscola in Catalonia, to which the deposed Pope had retired, temporarily in 1408 and permanently in 1417, and where he died in 1424. The library already contained the *Divina Commedia* and some of the Latin works of Dante, and in a memorandum of books to be bought we find noted, "Dantes reductus de lingua florentina ad latinam. Lectura magistri Benvenuti super eodem in latino;" cf. L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. I. pp. 486-488; M. Faucon, *La librairie des Papes d'Avignon*, 1887, vol. I. pp. 59-61, 85, note and vol. II. pp. 140, 151; Pastor, *Hist. of the Popes*, vol. I. pp. 190, 200, 201, 274; Creighton, *Hist. of the Popes*, vol. I. pp. 222, 364, and vol. II. p. 22. The translation of

such a translation and its accompanying commentary was in the first — and only completed — book of the learned archivist of Modena, Giovanni Maria Barbieri (23) (1519–1574), entitled *Dell' origine della poesia rimata*. He is treating of the earliest Italian poetesses, and, after mentioning the Nina of Dante da Maiano, he goes on: “L'altra, quella Gaja figliuola del buon Gherardo da Camino, della quale fa mentione nel XVI canto del Purgatorio quando dice di esso Gherardo;

‘Per altro soprannome io nol conosco
S'io nol togliesse da sua figlia Gaja.’

Il qual loco comentando Fra Giovanni da Serravalle della Diocesi di Rimini e Vescovo di Fermo, che fu discepolo di Benvenuto, & traslatò e comentò in latino la Commedia di Dante a petitione di certi Prelati della Magna dice di Gaja le seguenti parole, ‘De ista Gaja filia dicti boni Guerardi possent dici multæ laudes, quia fuit prudens domina, literata, magni consilii, & magnæ prudentiæ, maximæ pulchritudinis, quæ scivit bene loqui rythmatice in vulgari’” (24).

Serravalle would seem to be the very book to bear company with the commentary of his master, Benvenuto, on the shelves of the pontiff whom he helped to depose at the Council of Constance, but the work wanted may have been that earlier and better known rendering into hexameters of Matteo Ronto; cf. Colomb de Batines, *Bibl. Dant.*, vol. I. pp. 237–242; K. Witte, in *Divina comœdia hexametris latinis ab . . . Dalla Piazza*, pp. xiii–xv; L. Auveray, *Les MSS. de Dante des bibliothèques de France*, 1892, pp. 127–128; Grauert, *l. c.*, pp. 174–175.

23. On his life and works, cf. G. Tiraboschi, *Bibliotheca Modenese*, vol. I. pp. 158 ff.; A. Mussafia, *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Ak., Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, vol. LXXVI. pp. 201 ff.; G. Groeber in *Romanische Studien*, vol. II. pp. 606 ff.; P. de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsino*, pp. 314, note 4; 322, note 1.

24. *Dell' origine della rimata poesia*. Opera di Giammaria Barbieri Modense, pubblicata da G. Tiraboschi, Modena, 1790, p. 169; cf. *Transl.*, p. 613. This quotation was noted by Quirico Viviani in his edition of the *Divina Commedia*, 1823–1828, vol. II. p. 126. U. Foscolo, who did not have Barbieri's work at hand, attributed the statement “Prelati della Magna” to Viviano, and corrected it by Tiraboschi's account, *Discorso*, etc., 1825, vol. I. pp. 121–124. Witte (note to *Goettliche Comœdie*, *Purg.*, XVI. 140) rejects both the testimony of Serravalle and the directly contrary information given by Benvenuto (*l. c.*, vol. III. p. 451). Todeschini (*Scritti su*

But as this work of Barbieri was not published until 1790, the earliest accessible notice of Serravalle's composition dates from 1736. In that year, Giustini Fontanini, in his *Dell' eloquenza italiana* (25), published posthumously at Rome by his nephew, when laying out a plan for an improved edition of the *Divina Commedia*, notes, among unpublished documents which might be used to advantage, first, the commentary ascribed to Pietro di Dante (26), and then states that "un altro Dante tradotto *ad literam* in latino e comentato pure in latino da Giovanni da Seravalle, Frate Minore della diocesi di Rimini, e Vescovo e Principe di Fermo, si trova a penna presso Signor Marchese Capponi, fatica da quel Prelato composita nel 1416 mentre si ritrovava al concilio di Costanza, e ciò a richiesta di Amadeo da Saluzzo, Cardinal Diacone di santa Maria nova, di Niccolo Bubvit, Vescovo Batoniense et Vellense, e di Roberto Alam, Vescovo Saresberienese, Amendue Inglesi" (27).

In the *Catalogo della libreria Capponi, ossia dei libri italiani del Marchese A. G. Capponi, con annotazioni in diversi luoghi*, Roma, 1747, partly compiled by the proprietor of the collection, and completed after his death by D. Giorgi (28), is the shorter notice, "seravalle Johannes, ordinis Minorum & Episcopus Firmanus, Commentarius in Dantem Aldigherium de Aldigheriis; concinatum Constantiæ, dum

Dante, vol. II. pp. 400-401) accepts Benvenuto's evidence. Blanc (*Versuch einer bloss philologischen Erklärung*, etc., 1861-1865, Heft II. pp. 63-64) and Fransonì (*Studi vari sulla D. C.*, Firenze, 1887, pp. 212-240), support Serravalle's assertion, but the latest comments on the passage in question seem to justify Benvenuto's statements; cf. *Giornale Dantesco*, vol. I. p. 413, and P. Rajna in *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, Ser. V., vol. IX. pp. 284 ff.

25. On various editions of this work cf. *Biographie Universelle*, ed. Michaud, vol. XIV. p. 353b, 355a.

26. Barbieri, who perhaps had consulted codices in the Laurenziana (cf. Bandini, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum*, vol. V. pp. 201 f., 392 ff.; Tiraboschi, *Dell' origine*, etc., p. 177), speaks of Giacopo di Dante as author of both *Comento* and *Capitolo* (*Dell' origine*, etc., p. 163). He was also the first to quote the commentary of Buti (l. c., p. 83).

27. *Dell' eloquenza italiana*, Venezia, 1737, p. 422.

28. *Biog. univ.*, ed. Michaud, vol. VI. p. 630b; XVI, p. 499a.

Constantiense concilium celebraretur. (Inscribitur Amideo diacono Cardinali S. Mariæ Novæ nuncupato)" (29).

Capponi's library, after the death of its proprietor, became by will a part of the Vatican collection; and it was here that the MS. of Serravalle was carefully read by the antiquarian G. Giuseppe Garampi, as is evidenced by passages in his *Memorie ecclesiastiche della beata Chiara di Rimini*, published at Rome in 1755. In speaking of the use of a title of nobility he notes that "il nostro Giovanni da Seravalle ne' suoi Comenti MS. sopra Dante nota, che 'ille qui regit Marchiam conjunctim solet habere illum titulum: Marchio Marchie Anconitanæ, Capitaneus Urbini, & Rector Massæ Trabariæ'; *Cod. 1 MS. Bibl. Vatic. Cappon.*" (30). In the index he refers to the passage cited above, and then continues: "Il suo Comento sopra Dante fu compilato in Costanza nel dì I Gennajo dell' anno 1417. *Editum a Rev. in Chr. Patre & D.D. Fr. Johanne de Seravalle Ariminen. dioc. Dei & Apostolice Sedis gratia Episcopo & Principe Firmiano, Sacre Theologie Professore de Ordine Minorum assumpto.* Ivi alla pag. 18 (31) asserisce di essere stato Lettore e Maestro Reggente nel suo Covento in Firenze nell' anno 1395, dove dimorò per 4 anni (pag. 56) (32). Nel 1398, andò a visitare il S. Sepolcro di Cristo in Gerusalemme (ivi al 34. *Can. del Parad.*) (33). Prima però, cioè nell' anno, 1390, era egli stato creato da Bonifacio IX lettore del libro nelle Scuole del Palazzo Apostolico (Pl. 50, Cod. 18, p. 20 in Arch. Vat.); onde converrà aggiugnere il suo nome al catalogo de' lettori dell' Archigimnasio Romano, che da quelle credesi derivare. Altre notizie del medesimo si potranno avere dall' Ughelli, e dagl' Istorici dell' Ordine" (34).

Girolamo Tiraboschi, the great historian of Italian literature, as the curator of the Libreria Estense in Modena, and the biographer of the

29. Catalogo, etc., p. 452; cf. G. Pelli, *Memorie*, etc., 1759, p. 120, note; Cancellieri, *Osservazione*, etc., 1814, p. 56.

30. *Memorie ecclesiastiche*, etc., p. 38, note g. Batines, *Bibl. Dant.*, vol. III. p. 335, wrongly gives p. 138. Cf. *Transl.* p. 332, where, however, "communiter" appears instead of "conjunctim."

31. Cf. *Transl.*, p. 58.

32. *Ib.*, 176.

33. *Ib.*, p. 419. note 39. But the reference is *Inf.*, XXXIV.

34. *Memorie*, etc., p. 553. Batines, l. c., p. 335, again gives wrongly p. 533. Cf. *Transl.*, pp. xvi, xxvi.

literary men of that city, knowing of the existence of the above-quoted work of Barbieri by contemporary notices, had sought for it without success up to the publication of the first volume of his *Biblioteca Modenese* in 1781 (35), and the completion of the first edition of his *Storia della letteratura italiana* (36). Shortly after this, however, he found the autograph MS. of the work in the possession of the lineal descendants of Barbieri, and prepared it for publication with an introduction and notes of his own (37). In a note of the fourth volume of the second edition of the *Storia*, where he treats of early Italian poetry, he quotes, without mentioning his source, the comment of Serravalle on Gaja (38). Moreover, informed of the existence of a MS. of the commentary by the notice in the *Catalogo della libreria Caponi*, he had made (39) a copy of the introductory Preamble—he calls it a “lunga prefazione”—and in the fifth volume, in the section on Dante, he added notes in which, more or less correctly, he stated the facts relative to the composition of the commentary and translation, and

35. *Bibl. Modenese*, vol. I. pp. 163 ff.; cf. vol. VI. p. 24.

36. Cf. vol. IV. p. 363; vol. V. pp. 415, 431, with reference to 2d ed. cited in notes below.

37. Although published in 1790, the notes of Tiraboschi seem to have been written prior to the publication of the *Storia*, as in the note on the Gaja passage cited in Barbieri, l. c., pp. 169, note, and p. 187, note, he does not correct the phrase “prelati della Magna.” He seems acquainted only with the notice in the *Catalogo*, which is cited by him on another matter (l. c., p. 170, note), even though his words “appena v’ha, chi abbia notizia” would indicate an acquaintance with the mention of Serravalle’s work in other quarters. It seems impossible that he did not know the correct statement as given in the book of Fontanini, of which he made constant use. Although in the *Storia*, vol. IV. p. 425 (1788), he quotes the Gaja passage as his own discovery, yet he seems not to have verified Barbieri’s quotation by a reference to the MS. Capponiano. In the *Storia* (vol. IV. p. 396) he mentions its future publication, and cites passages from it. Cf. Barbieri, l. c., pp. 82–83.

38. *Storia*, 2d ed., vol. IV. p. 425 (1789).

39. This copy is at present in the Libreria Estense of Modena. Colomb de Batines, *Bibl. Dant.*, vol. II. p. 335; I. Vaisz in *Giorn. stor. della lett. Ital.*, vol. II. p. 363.

cited the first of the two passages in the Preamble which speak of Dante's studies at Oxford (40).

Up to a very recent date, in the many works on Dante, all the notices — save the noted exception of Serravalle and his statements appertaining to the English journey — were based upon these remarks of Tiraboschi (41). V. Monti, in the second number of his *Biblioteca Italiana* (Feb., 1816), proposed his erratic and unfounded reading of *Inf.*, III. 42: "Che niuna gloria i rei avrebber d'elli." He was violently attacked for his somewhat more than bold suggestion, and then, following, as a forlorn hope, a perfectly groundless hint of Perticari's, he looked to find support for his view in Serravalle's translation. Deceived therein, yet he expressed his regret that De Romanis in his edition of the *Divina Commedia* had not taken it into account (42). Colomb de Batines in the first volume of the *Bibliografia Dantesca* notes, and in the second volume gives, a fairly accurate description of the MS. (43). Barlow in the "fifties" also noted it, but only, it seems, in reference to the "English" statement which he thought was based upon information obtained by the author from the English

40. Storia, 2d ed., vol. V. pp. 490, 509. Vita di Dante in La Divina Commedia, Milan, 1804, vol. I. pp. xxx, lxii, and all subsequent editions of Storia and Vita.

41. M. Missirini, Vita di Dante, vol. I. p. 143 (1840); U. Foscolo, Discorso, etc. (1825), vol. I. p. 123; E. Balbo, Vita di Dante, 1853, p. 473; F. X. Wegele, Dantes Leben, 3d ed., p. 95, note; Scartazzini, Prolegomeni, p. 94; Id., Dante Handbuch, p. 123; H. F. Cary, in the Life of Dante in his Transl. of D. C., 2d ed., 1819, vol. I. p. 5; F. Cancellieri, Osservazione, pp. 45-46; A. Bartoli, Storia della lett. ital., vol. V. p. 21; Taaffe, A Comment on the Divina Commedia, 1822, vol. I. p. 48. Cf. Witte, Dante-Forschungen, vol. I. p. 433, where the author of the commentary is referred to as "il dotto Inglese," a term not quite so appropriate as the sharp criticism of the book by Colomb de Batines, Bibl. Dant., vol. I. p. 677, "Vi sono particolari poco noti o meglio ignoti sopra Dante ed alcuni de' suoi contemporanei con cui fu legato in amicizia." (For a few details concerning the life of this eccentric personage, cf. E. Dowden, Life of Shelley, vol. II. p. 362.)

42. Giornale Dantesco, vol. II. pp. 151, 152.

43. Colomb de Batines, Bibl. Dant., vol. I. p. 257; vol. II. pp. 333, 335.

prelates, who merely reported an Oxford tradition (44). Finally the MS. has been published under the patronage of Pope Leo XIII., carefully edited by two Minorite brothers (45).

In 1819, an anonymous writer in the *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* (Scientific Miscellanies), an Hungarian literary journal, and, again, in 1860, Francesco di Czarar, the translator of the *Vita Nuova* in the *U. Magyar Museum* (New Hungarian Museum), called attention to the existence of a copy of the work of Serravalle, in the Library of the Archiepiscopal Academy at Erlau (Eger) in Hungary (46). The first notice of general accessibility was a summary of the second article in a communication of Geza Kuuns in the *Revista Europea* for 1874 (47). In 1883, there appeared in the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* an article describing the MS., written by Ignazio Vaisz (48), who supposed that his own paper was the earliest contribution to the subject (49). All these notices are meagre and unsatisfactory.

44. Critical, Historical, and Philosophical Contributions to the Study of the Divina Commedia, 1846, pp. 18, 19; Ferruzzi, *Manuale Dantesco*, vol. IV. p. 34, notes an article by Barlow in the *Partenone di Londres*, 1852, No. 13, on "Dante at Oxford." I have not been able to find such an article in the *Athenæum* for that year, or in the other volumes of the same periodical, to which Barlow regularly contributed from 1857 on. Ferrazzi also notes (either on his own account, or merely in summarizing Barlow's article) Boccaccio's "serusque Britannos."

45. For title see note 2. As the expense of publishing was borne by the Pope, it is sometimes called "il Dante del Papa." Rev. in *Lit. Rundschau f. d. katholische Deutschland*, XVIII. Jahrg., pp. 149-153; *Arcadia*, vol. III. p. 659; *La Cultura*, 1891. Anno 6, 732-735; *Bullettino della Società Dantesca*, Nos. 10-11, p. 6; *Giornale Dantesco*, vol. II. p. 152 and vol. III. p. 564. From a lack of substantial facts, I have not discussed the possible identity of the MS. Capponiano with that used by Barbieri. The only variant in the Gaja passage cited in the text is that in the Latinizing of the name Gherardo; Barbieri gives the form "Guerardi," as against the "Gherardi" found in the Transl. and in Benvenuto.

46. C. J. Ferrazzi, *Manuale Dantesca*, vol. V. p. 292; *Giornale storico della lett. ital.*, vol. IV. p. 58, note; Transl., p. xxv. Grauert, l. c., p. 183, note.

47. *Revista Europea*, 1874, vol. III. pp. 406-407.

48. *Gior. stor.*, etc., vol. II. pp. 360ff.

49. *Ib.*, vol. II. p. 360; vol. IV. p. 58, note.

The MS., in its present condition, is inferior to the MS. Capponiano (50), and contains only the preamble (51), the translation, and the commentary on the *Inferno*. A copy, made probably in 1417 (52), it begins with a dedication addressed, not to the prelates at whose request the work was undertaken, but to the Emperor Sigismund, and the mere dedicatory greeting is grafted in and made one with the dedicatory letter, which in the MS. Capponiano is quite separate. This same dedication is found at the beginning of the commentary, but the original statement of the wherefore of the work is found in the colophon of both the translation and commentary of the more complete MS. (53). This copy seems to have been made by one of the prelates who accompanied the Emperor to Constance (54), or given as an honorary presentation copy, by the men who were interested in the work, to Sigismund on account of his having been the protector of the Council, and more particularly on account of his close relations with the English people (55), especially with Bishop Hallam, one of

50. Cf. Transl., pp. xxiv-xxv.

51. The MS. Capponiano contains only the preamble, introductory to the whole poem, and to the Purgatorio. It is possible that in one of the other two existing MSS. — which, it is true, are inferior — there is a preamble introductory to the Paradiso.

52. 1417 is a reasonable date to assign to the MS., as it was probably copied from the completed autograph; and, if it was a gift on the part of the English prelates, presented before the death of Hallam (4th Sept., 1417; Ulrich von Richtenthal, *Chronik*, p. 113; Grauert, l. c., p. 183, note 2) and the break between the English Nation and Sigismund (M. Creighton, *Hist. of Papacy*, vol. I. p. 392). Vaisz accepts a scribal error which wrongly gives as dates of the translation, Jan. 6-May, 1417 (*Giorn. Stor.*, vol. II. p. 364; cf. note 9).

53. Transl., pp. 1214-1215. If Witte had been acquainted with this MS. there would have been more reason for his criticism of Scartazzini, who, in his *Dante in Germania*, had not thought it necessary to mention a Latin translation made at the request of two Englishmen, members of a largely alien assembly in a German town. Cf. *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, 1881, col. 445, and E. Sulger-Gebing, l. c., p. 223; Grauert, l. c., pp. 176, 180ff.

54. As suggested by Vaisz, who goes so far as to specify a Hungarian prelate; cf. *Giorn. stor.*, vol. II. pp. 364-365.

55. Lappenberg u. Pauli, *Geschichte von England*, vol. V. pp. 125ff.; Creighton, l. c., vol. I. pp. 367ff., 447-449.

the petitioners (56). Certainly, a translation of Dante would not have had purely humanistic attractions for the monarch whose ignorance has been made familiar to English readers by the passage in the *History of Frederick the Great*, where Carlyle relates how, when criticised for a confusion of genders in a speech, the King quashed all future remarks in that direction by his proud answer, "Ego sum Rex Romanus et supra Grammaticam" (57). The preservation of the Eger MS. is attributed to the collecting work of Carlo Esterhazy, in the last century (58).

The earliest date of a copy making its appearance in England, so far as has yet been pointed out by Dante scholars, was 1886, when the

56. Creighton, l. c., vol. I. pp. 368, 391-392; R. S. Poole, in *Nat. Dict. of Biog.*, vol. XXIV. p. 100.

57. T. Carlyle, *Hist. of Fred. the Great*, Bk. II. ch. xiv. vol. I. p. 192 (ed. 1871). The original source of this story may be Matteo Castiglione, *Elogi Historici*, 1606, p. 234. Modern German historians give a more favorable view of Sigismund than does the Italian humorist; cf. T. Lindner, *Deutsche Geschichte unter den Hapsburgern und Luxemburgern*, vol. II.: "Es kam dem Könige nicht darauf an, welcher Sprache er sich zu bedienen hatte, da er das Deutsche, Lateinische, Böhmische, Polnische, Ungarische, Französische und Italienische vollkommen beherrschte; er wurde deswegen mit dem sprachkundigen Mithridates verglichen. Er zog auch in seinen letzten Lebensjahren italienische Gelehrte an seinen Hof." See also J. Aschbach, *Gesch. Kaiser Sigismund*, vol. IV. pp. 401 ff.; and Grauert, l. c., p. 184, Note 1. The classic authority upon the history of the revival of learning expresses an opinion hardly favorable on the whole to Sigismund's humanistic interests; cf. G. Voigt. *Die Wiederlebung des classischen Alterthums*, vol. II. pp. 272-276. By a most curious coincidence, Sigismund comes in touch with the "Vision" of Dante. The *Purgatory of St. Patrick*, by Henry of Saltry, is certainly a somewhat close analogue to the *Inferno*, if not one of its actual sources. Various *rifacimenti* of the work were made at different times, and the last of these was the account, written by James Yonge, of Dublin, upon the visit to the Purgatory made by one Laurentius Ratold, a Hungarian knight, who came to England in 1408, with letters of commendation from Sigismund; cf. H. L. D. Ward, *Cat. of MSS.*, etc., vol. II. p. 489. But on the historical worthlessness of the most precise dates given in accounts of visions, cf. B. Haureau, *Notices et Extraits*, vol. II. pp. 328 ff.; and G. Paris, *Romania*, vol. IX. pp. 531-536.

58. *Giorn. stor.*, vol. II. p. 365; *Revista Europea*, 1874, vol. III. p. 407.

"Woodhul" MS. was acquired by the British Museum. Bought by Woodhul in 1809, it contains the bookmark of the Marquis of Donegal. Its earlier history is unknown, and no detailed description of it has been published (59). Dr. Edward Moore, who was the first to call attention to it, being unacquainted with the notices of the Hungarian MS., and supposing that, with the exception of the MS. in the Capponiana, it was unique, conjectured that it came from Italy, and that it had been acquired by a namesake of the Marquis of Donegal, who had held an ecclesiastical position in Italy (60). But there is a possibility that its *provenance* may be English.

In the deed of 135 books that were given by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, in 1443, to the University of Oxford, are noted "Item Commentaria Dantes; secundo folio, tormentabunt" (61), and "Item

59. Very sparing are the notices of it in Cat. of the Add. to the MSS. of Brit. Mus., 1882-1887, pp. 357-368; E. Moore, *Contr.*, etc., pp. i-ii.

60. Acad., vol. XXIX. pp. 132, 133. Misled by a note in Batines (*Bibl. Dant.*, vol. II. p. 333, note, cf. *Aggiunte*, p. 93; *Giorn. stor.*, vol. II. p. 365) to the effect that an inhabitant of San Marino whose evidence could be depended on had told him that the autograph copy which had been kept in the Archives of San Marino, had been loaned to and lost by Melchiorre Delfico, Moore suggested that the Woodhul MS. was the same. Neither the statement of Batines nor the suggestion of Moore rests on any possible facts. Delfico, writing in 1802, and his editors only know of the MS. Capponiano (cf. M. Delfico, *Memorie della Reppublica di San Marino*, 1844, vol. I. p. 235, where Delfico, with commendable patriotic sentiment, speaks of it as the MS. of "un pregiato commento," see vol. III. App. p. xxv). The MS. lost by Delfico was that of the commentary of Giovanni Tonsi, the successor of Serravalle in the Bishopric of Fano (*not* Fermo, as in Brizzi, *Quadro storico della Reppublica di San Marino*, Firenze, 1842, p. 89); cf. *Transl.*, p. xvi.; Batines, *Bibl. Dant.*, vol. II. pp. 339-340; Delfico, l. c., vol. I. p. 235; vol. III. p. xxvii; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vol. I. col. 716; P. de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, pp. 226-227, Note). The autograph MS. of his work, preserved in the *Cenobio de' Conventuali*, was loaned to Delfico, and could not be found in his library after his death; cf. Delfico, l. c., vol. III. App. pp. xxvi-xxviii. Brizzi, l. c., p. 89, gives a different account of its fate. Witte seems to accept the note of Batines as trustworthy; cf. Herzog u. Plitt, *Realencyclopaedie f. prot. Theol. u. Kirche*, 2d ed., vol. III. p. 491.

61. H. Anstey, *Monumenta Academica*, p. 771. On the source of the document, cf. *ibid.*, p. xvii.

Librum Dantes ; secundo-ate" (62). That the first MS. here mentioned was a Latin commentary — as is to be inferred from the word "tormentabunt" which marks the folio division — and the commentary, too, of Serravalle, cannot be reasonably doubted when we find that among the books in the Oxford Public Library catalogued by John Leland (63), in his visitation of 1530-1546 (64), is noted "Commentarii Joannis de Seravala episcopi Firmani, ordinis Minorum, Latine scripti, super opera Dantis Aligerii ad Nicolam Bubwice, Bathon et Wellensem, episcopum, & Robertum Halam episcopum, Sarisbur: Commentarii editi sunt tempore Constantiense consilii" (65). The commentary alone is catalogued, but the MS. probably contained the translation, as is the case with the entries in the catalogues of the Libreria Capponiana (66) and the British Museum (67), where merely the title-pages of the several MSS. are copied. Or, the second MS. mentioned in the deed and not noted by Leland may have been the translation bound separately (68), if it were not a copy of the Italian text. There is proof positive that Humphrey was interested in the vernacular literature of Italy, as at present his copy of the *Decamerone* is in the Bibliothèque Natio-

62. H. Anstey, *Monumenta Academica*, p. 772.

63. On Leland's knowledge of Italian and his interest in Dante, cf. Leland and Bale, *Newe Yeare's Gift*, ed. Copinger, pp. 23, 27; Huddesford, *Lives of Leland*, etc., vol. II. pp. 48, note, 77; J. Leland, *Itinerary*, ed. Hearne, 1745, vol. II. p. xiii; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, ed. P. Bliss, vol. I. col. 125; Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, vol. V. p. 141.

64. On the date of Leland's visitation, cf. T. Tyrwhitt, *Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, App. to the Preface, note e.

65. Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. IV. p. 58; cf. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian*, 2d ed., pp. 399-400, for a reprint of Leland's list of books in the Public Library at Oxford.

66. Cf. p. 25 *supra*.

67. Cat. of Add. to MSS., 1882-1887, p. 357.

68. As perhaps in the case of the MS. at Wells, referred to below. On a possible source of Humphrey's MS., as a gift from Whethamstede, Abbot of St. Albans, cf. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 1817, vol. II. p. 20; T. Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, 1840, vol. II. pp. 265-266; F. Madden, *Hist. Minor of Mathew of Paris*, vol. I. p. xxxix; F. Gasquet, *The Old English Bible and other Essays*, pp. 142, 257.

nale (69). A few MSS. are to-day to be found in the Bodleian Library, which once formed a part of Humphrey's gift to Oxford (70), but after Leland, there are no further details concerning the fate of these "Commentarii." Perhaps at the visitation of the University under Edward VI., it shared the same hard fortune as those works which smelt rank of Mariolatry and superstition and were burnt in a pile before the Library (71), or else became the prey of one of the Puritan commissioners. There is a possibility that the Woodhul MS. may be

69. L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. I. p. 52, note 5.

70. Wood's information about the library presented by Humphrey is hardly reliable (*Historia et Antiquitates*, ed. 1672, vol. II. pp. 49-50). Leland seems to have known only the list of Humphrey's first gift of 129 books, not that of 135 in which the codices of Dante were included (*Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, p. 443). The number 143, given in Leland & Bale, *Newe Yeare's Gift*, p. 94, must be a mistake. Only 129 books are mentioned in a University Statute of 1478 pertaining to the care of Humphrey's gift (T. Hearne, *Collection of Curious Discourses*, 1720, p. 300), as also in an old document copied by G. Langbaine (*Ib.*, p. 303). Delisle, *l. c.*, vol. III. p. 334, through a mere slip in referring to Anstey, *l. c.*, p. 758, makes the same statement. On the history of the library and its remains, cf. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian*, 2d ed., pp. 6ff., 78, note 3; Anstey, *l. c.*, p. 758 ff.; Leland, *Coll.*, vol. IV. pp. 59-60; Warton, *l. c.*, vol. II. pp. 264-265; B. Casley, *Cat. of the MSS. of the King's Library*, 1784, pp. 87, 88, 291; H. Ellis, *Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, pp. 356-358; H. Ellis, *Three Books of Polydore Virgil's English History*, 1844, pp. xxv ff.; H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. II. pp. 744-745; F. Madden, *Hist. Min. of Math. of Paris*, vol. I. p. xxxix; Delisle, *l. c.*, vol. I. p. 52, notes 7 and 8, and vol. II. p. 338; *Cat. of Libri MSS.*, 1859, p. 215, No. 957.

71. A. Wood, *Hist. et Antiq.*, vol. I. pp. 271-272; vol. II. p. 50; A. Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, vol. I. cols. 466-468; Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian*, 2d ed., pp. 13, 36; J. Collier, *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, vol. V. p. 428 (ed. 1845). Cf. T. Fuller, *Church History of Britain*, 1837, vol. II. pp. 317-318; and see Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark, vol. II. p. 297: "My old cosen, parson Whitney, told me that in Edward VI's time they burned mathematical bookes for conjuring bookes, and, if the Greeke professor had not accidently come along, the Greeke testament had been thrown into the fire for a conjuring booke too;" *ibid.*, vol. I. pp. 250-251; "when Oxford was surrendered — the first thing gen-

identified with it, by the noted folio division, and Humphrey's arms or book-mark motto, "Moun bien moundain" (72).

Hallam, one of the English bishops at whose request the work of Serravalle was made, died at Constance before the end of the Council. Bubwith, on the other hand, returned to his diocese, and, after a busy useful life of service, died in 1424. To-day he is remembered as one of the founders of the noble cathedral of Wells, and we are told that among his other additions he built the library and "*libris pretiosis ditavit*" (73). One of these volumes may well have been that translation and commentary for which he was largely responsible, and Leland notes among the books in that library, "*Dantes translatus in carmen Latinum*" (74). In calling it a verse translation, Leland only committed the error made by two of the most prominent Dante scholars of this century, Batines (75) and Moore (76). On the other hand

erall Fairfax did was to sett a good guard of soldiers to preserve the Bodleian Library. 'T is said there was more hurt donne by the cavaliers (during their garrison) by way of embezilling and cutting-off chaines of bookes, than there was since. He was a lover of learning, and had he not taken this special care, that noble library had been utterly destroyed — quod N. B.; for there were ignorant senators enough who would have been contented to have it so. This I doe assure you from an ocular witsnesse, E. W. esq."

72. Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. IV. p. 58. This book-motto has already been noticed in Lappenberg und Pauli, *Geschichte von England*, vol. V. p. 669, note 1; Pauli, *Bilder aus Alt-England*, 1860, p. 350.

73. J. Leland, *Itinerary*, ed. Hearne, vol. III. p. 106; *Proc. of the Somersetshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. XXXIII. 2, p. 107 and vol. XL. 2, p. 40. On the library anterior to Bubwith's work, *ibid.*, vol. XXXIV. 2, pp. 109 ff.; T. W. Williams, *Somerset Mediæval Libraries, and Miscellaneous Notices of Books in Somerset prior to the Dissolution of the Monasteries*, Bristol, 1897, pp. 26 ff., 40. Bubwith's gift has already been noted in *Reports of the Historical Commissioners of Great Britain*, vol. X. App. 3, p. 387.

74. J. Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. IV. p. 155.

75. *Bibl. Dant.*, vol. II. p. 335, Note, where he changes his correct statement of vol. I. p. 257; cf. *Aggiunte*, p. 93.

76. *Contributions, etc.*, pp. i-ii, where the statement in *Bibl. Dant.*, vol. I. p. 257, is again wrongly corrected. Williams, l. c., p. 116, Note, presumes it to be "probably the translation of Ronto." He thinks that mention of

he may not have seen the MS. at all, but may have taken the title from a catalogue made prior to the dispersion of the monastic libraries by the act of Henry VIII., and to his own visitation (77). Both the translation and commentary may have been together in this Wells MS., but with a title-page differing from that of the MSS. already mentioned, while the arrangement of the text was the same, and the translation, coming first, was alone noted (78). If it has not met with one of the possible mishaps of the Oxford MS., it may still remain unnoticed among the MSS. of the Cathedral Library,

the work of Dante is "rare if not unique in the annals of English monasteries." It is not clear whether a writer in the *Quarterly Review* (vol. CLXXI. p. 448), who seems to be generally accurate, refers to the same instance, when he writes, "In Monastic libraries, as far as we are aware, only one copy of Dante can be traced. It was a prohibited work amongst Churchmen." The second of these statements must be read in the light of Carducci's essay, "Della Varia Fortuna di Dante," *Opere*, vol. VIII. pp. 178-212; cf. Reusch, *Die Index der verbotenen Buecher*, vol. I. pp. 488-489. The copy noted in the library of Westminster Abbey at the end of the seventeenth century (E. Bernard, *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ*, etc.) may have formed part of the old library which underwent Puritan expurgation in Edward VI.'s time (J. Collier, *Ecclesiastical Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. V. p. 417, ed. 1845), or it may merely go back to the foundation of Dean John Williams in 1625.

77. E. Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, vol. I. p. 363, Williams, l. c., p. 120, speaks of the list of books "recorded to have been or were probably in the library." Leland himself sent books from various monastic libraries as gifts to the King (C. J. Leland, *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, 1709, ed. A. Hall, pp. 160, 299), so we are not surprised to find the less scholarly visitors guilty of the same action. (Gasquet, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, 1889, pp. 144, 417.) On the general destruction of monastic libraries, under the act of Henry VIII., cf. T. Fuller, *Church History*, vol. II. pp. 245-248. J. Bale, in *Newe Yeare's Gift*, pp. 13 ff. : Boyle's complaint in *Cambridge Antiquarian Soc. Proc.*, vol. III. p. 157. On robberies from the Wells Cathedral cf. W. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. II. p. 284; *Hist. Com. Ibid.*, p. 264. On the fate of the two MSS. abstracted from the Cathedral Library of Canterbury at the time of the Dissolution, cf. W. De G. Birch, *The Utrecht Psalter*, pp. 103-106.

78. The translation comes first in both the Capponiana and Hungarian MSS.

as documents of a contemporary and much earlier date have been found there (79).

After these two notices of MSS. of Serravalle's work by Leland, no one even suspected the existence of a copy in England, until Henry Cary, by far the most learned of all English Dantophilists, when speaking in his *Life of Dante* of the English journey, and basing his remark upon passages of a Latin prose, line-for-line translation of the poem cited as the work of F. S. in the *Origines Sacræ* of Bishop Stillingfleet (80), wrote: "I would suggest the probability of others"—he has been speaking of the MS. Capponiano,—"existing in this country" (81). A comparison of the quotations in the translation of F. S. with the published text of Serravalle's reveals an entirely distinct version, so that a different source must be sought for Stillingfleet's quotation.

79. Reports of the Hist. Com. of Great Britain, vol. X. App. pp. 92, 93, 94, 360. Among these that are of particular interest in this investigation, is a copy of the Canons of Constance, promulgated under Martin V., as affecting the English nation, and inserted in the book of the Chancery of the Apostolic Sec, granted at Florence on the 17th of April, 1419, *Ib.*, p. 360.

80. *Origines Sacræ*, Book II., ch. IX., sect. xix, 4; Book II., ch. X. sect. v, 2. Works of Stillingfleet, 1710, vol. II. pp. 193-194, 219.

81. *Life of Dante in Divina Commedia*, 2d ed., 1819, pp. 5-6, note.

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